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Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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CONTENTS

13 December 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Chad

Deby Urges Political Movements Wait for 'Rules' <i>[AFP]</i>	1
Meets With Ambassadors <i>[PANA]</i>	1
Hissein Habre Urges Revolt Against New Regime <i>[London International]</i>	1
Financial Assistance Agreement Signed With France <i>[N'djamena Radio]</i>	1

Equatorial Guinea

Babangida Assures Nation of 'Peaceful Intentions' <i>[PANA]</i>	1
'Consultations' Noted <i>[PANA]</i>	2

Rwanda

Radio Reports Rebels Invade Through Kaniga <i>[Kigali Radio]</i>	2
Further Reportage <i>[Kigali Radio]</i>	3

EAST AFRICA

Kenya

Government 'Keen' To Strengthen U.S. Relations <i>[KNA]</i>	4
---	---

Somalia

Assembly Debates 'Precarious Situation' <i>[Mogadishu Radio]</i>	4
USC Chairman's Statement on Cairo Meeting <i>[Radio of Somali National Movement]</i>	4

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Defense Force 'Positive' About Negotiations <i>[Johannesburg TV]</i>	5
Spokesman Describes Role of Ex-Koevoet Members <i>[London International]</i>	5
ANC's Tambo Returns After 30 Years in Exile <i>[SAPA]</i>	6
Tambo Not To Quit <i>[PANA]</i>	6
ANC To Build 'Posh House' <i>[SOWETAN 12 Dec]</i>	6
Navy Chief Recommissions Refitted Submarine <i>[Johannesburg TV]</i>	7
Chief Details Air Force Rationalization Plans <i>[SOWETAN 12 Dec]</i>	7
13 Dec Press Review on Current Problems, Issues <i>[THE STAR 13 Dec, etc.]</i>	8

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

MPLA Central Committee Elects Politburo Members <i>[Luanda Radio]</i>	9
Foreign Minister Meets With Baker, Shevardnadze <i>[Luanda Radio]</i>	9
Portugal's Durao Barroso Departs Luanda 12 Dec <i>[ANGOP]</i>	9
Savimbi Interviewed on Talks in Washington <i>[Johannesburg International]</i>	10

Mozambique

Frelimo Central Committee Session Closes 12 Dec /*Maputo Radio*/ 11

Namibia

Government Declines Offer of Koekoet Briefing /*SAPA*/ 12

Zimbabwe

More Troops Deployed Along Mozambican Border /*Johannesburg International*/ 12

WEST AFRICA

Ivory Coast

FPI Official Agodio Proposes Economic Plan /*NOUVEL HORIZON 3 Dec*/ 13

Chad

Deby Urges Political Movements Wait for 'Rules'

AB1212192090 Paris AFP in English 1639 GMT
12 Dec 90

[Text] N'Djamena, Dec 12 (AFP)—New Chadian President Idriss Deby on Wednesday called on those wanting to form political movements to wait for "rules" that would govern the introduction of a multi-party system.

Mr. Deby's request for patience was seen as a response to plans by a young N'Djamena politician from a prominent family, Abderaman Koulamallah, to convene a press conference announcing a new "political organization." A communique from the ruling State Council, set up on December 4 two days after then rebel leader Deby drove into N'Djamena in triumph, reaffirmed his "total" commitment to "pluralist democracy," but warned that the "process" was not "synonymous with anarchy."

Mr. Koulamallah late Tuesday had a message delivered to foreign journalists at their hotel here, saying that he would on Wednesday afternoon announce the formation of a new political movement.

After the State Council's call for patience, read out on national radio, Mr. Koulamallah told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE he was to meet Mr. Deby during the day but still planned to hold his news briefing. He said "nobody asked the new ruler to make promises. When you're running a country, you have to weigh up your words."

He called on Mr. Deby to "set a timetable" for the introduction of political pluralism, adding: "It's not because you've conquered a country militarily that it belongs to you."

The State Council for its part warned that "undue haste and bids to create a 'fait accompli' are the greatest of errors, which must be avoided. To act outside the rules or before they are adopted would not be fair to other interested parties and the nation as a whole."

Under ex-President Hissein Habre, who fled Chad on December 1 as Mr. Deby's forces advanced on the capital, Mr. Koulamallah headed the N'Djamena youth wing of the sole, ruling National Union for Independence and the Revolution (UNIR). He stood in single-part general elections in July and was beaten. Before independence, his father Ahmed Koulamallah was a socialist deputy in the French parliament, who tried in 1959 to convince General Charles de Gaulle that Chad was too underdeveloped and divided, particularly between north and south, to go it alone. He and other deputies then wanted Chad granted the status of a French overseas territory, but independence came on August 11, 1960.

The Koulamallah family, a large one, has considerable power and prestige in Chad and numerous foreign connections, but has never been directly involved in the series of civil wars that have wracked the Central African nation since 1965.

Meets With Ambassadors

AB1212192590 Dakar PANA in English
1506 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Dakar, 12 Dec (PANA)—The Chadian head of state, Idriss Deby, on Tuesday in N'Djamena, received the ambassadors of Palestine, France, United States and Zaire with whom he held discussions. Reports reaching PANA in Dakar said the ambassadors pledged the commitment of their respective countries to continue their friendly relations with the new Chadian Government.

Since he came into power on 4 December, the country's new leader has already received the ambassadors of Algeria, Cameroon, Libya, Sudan.

Hissein Habre Urges Revolt Against New Regime

AB1312090090 London BBC World Service in English
0730 GMT 13 Dec 90

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] The ousted president of Chad, Mr. Hissein Habre, has appealed to citizens of the Central African country to take up arms against the new authorities there. It was the first word from the former Chadian leader since he fled to Cameroon 11 days ago. A statement signed by Mr. Habre and released by his aides in Paris blamed his overthrow on a foreign plot, but he did not name any particular country. The statement pledged to free Chad from what he called hegemonists and lackeys. Mr. Habre has now been given asylum in Senegal.

Financial Assistance Agreement Signed With France

AB1212123790 N'Djamena Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Summary] France and Chad signed a financial assistance agreement this morning. The agreement, which is the first of its kind since the Council of State was inaugurated, involves 500 million CFA francs. The commissioner for finance signed for Chad while the French ambassador signed for his country. The two sides will later agree on the projects to benefit from the aid.

Equatorial Guinea

Babangida Assures Nation of 'Peaceful Intentions'

AB1212184090 Dakar PANA in English
1718 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Malabo, 12 Dec (NAN/PANA)—Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida has assured the Government

and people of Equatorial Guinea that Nigeria will continue in its efforts to develop and strengthen the existing bilateral relations between the two countries.

Nigeria has no territorial ambition, Babangida declared at a state banquet organised in his honour by Equatorial Guinea's President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo on Tuesday in Malabo, noting that its rich natural endowments had obviated such an ambition. He said that Nigeria attached the highest premium to fruitful cooperation and brotherly relations with its neighboring and other African states.

I will like to seize this opportunity to reiterate, publicly, Nigeria's friendly and peaceful intentions toward Equatorial Guinea and all our neighbours, he said.

The president, who is the first Nigerian leader to visit Equatorial Guinea, described the current positive trend in relations between both countries as a proof of the maturity of their present leadership.

He commended the two countries' joint commission for their achievement in concluding formal bilateral agreements during their third session last week. He urged that the two governments should deliberately facilitate and encourage their citizens to move freely to promote good neighbourliness, progress and stability.

Babangida expressed the hope that the laying of the foundation stone of the Nigeria-Guinea International School Wednesday and Nigeria's undertaking to build a hospital in Anisoc, as well as their various farm projects, would enhance their friendship and improve the health and material well-being of the citizens of Equatorial Guinea.

In his speech, President Mbasogo expressed satisfaction with the visit, noting that it would enable Babangida to appreciate their problems and determine the best strategy which both countries could adopt to preserve their interests.

Mbasogo decorated Babangida with his country's highest honour, the Medal of the Order of Independence, for his active contributions to African solidarity. Also at a formal reception earlier at the city hall the mayor of Malabo, Elias Maho Sicacha, made Babangida an honorary citizen of Malabo by handing him the keys to the city.

'Consultations' Noted

AB1212184590 Dakar PANA in English
1743 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Malabo, 12 Dec. (NAN/PANA)—The Nigerian Government has begun consultations with countries in the Gulf of Guinea with a view to establishing a Gulf of Guinea commission, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida announced Tuesday in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea.

The countries concerned are Gabon, Cameroon, Sao Tome and Principe and Equatorial Guinea which is currently hosting Babangida on a three-day state visit.

In an address at a banquet organised in his honour, Babangida said that the proposed commission would offer an agreed institutional framework for the peaceful and orderly joint exploitation of the Gulf's riches to their benefit. All of the states, he said, should agree on the most cost-effective and orderly manner of transforming their natural resources into regional prosperity for their people, to avoid scrambling.

We in this region must gratefully acknowledge our endowment in the Gulf of Guinea which is a gift of nature to all our states, he said, adding: The over-lapping exclusive economic zones of states in the Gulf must not be seen as a source of unhealthy competition and potential conflicts, he said.

Babangida urged that the leaders, in weighing the proposal, should be guided by practices elsewhere, where sovereign states similarly exploited their common patrimony, noting that political will was what they needed. He used the occasion to reiterate his appeal to African nations embroiled in costly conflicts to allow the traditional method of peaceful resolution of conflicts to prevail. Expanding on this, he said that the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] established ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] to separate the armed factions in the Liberian civil war, to enable an interim government to fashion out an electoral process which would lead to the peaceful election of a new president and a new legislature.

Babangida appealed to African countries and the international community to appreciate the sacrifices of the countries involved in the peace process and give their moral and material support.

On South Africa, the president said the heroic struggle of the people must not be derailed by the machinations of the unrepentant apostles of apartheid. They must not be left in doubt of our collective determination to see a democratic and non-racial South Africa, he said.

Rwanda

Radio Reports Rebels Invade Through Kaniga

EA1212211090 Kigali Domestic Service
in Kinyarwanda 1700 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The enemies of our country are still trying to disturb the peace of Rwandans. Last night, they attempted another invasion through Kaniga. Florent Kampayana has more details:

[Begin Kampayana recording] The cockroaches [inyenzi—rebels] who fled to Uganda are still launching attacks on Rwanda so as to deprive us of peace. Tonight, they entered through the border post of Kaniga, Kiyombe Commune, Byumba Prefecture.

The latest attack has interrupted talks that were due to be held in Gatuna, Uganda, between the Kabale district administrator and the prefects of Byumba Prefecture, Mr. Sylvestre Balyanga, and Ruhengeri Prefecture, Charles Nzabagerageza. The two prefectures share a common border with Uganda. The aim of the talks was to look into ways of solving the problem brought about by cockroaches from Ugandan territory. The rebels are housed and fed by people on the other side of the border. The same people also show them the routes they use to attack.

You will recall that on 6 December, Prefect Balyanga met the Kabale official in Gatuna and asked him questions, following which his Kabale counterpart said that he was going to study the problem. Since that night, however, the enemies of Rwanda have constantly been trying to enter our country by force.

Today, the Kabale official was to have told us what he had done after the Gatuna meeting to prevent attacks by rebels from their country [Uganda]. He is the one who issued the invitation to the Byumba and Ruhengeri prefects. According to people who followed the talks closely, the Kabale district administrator had not yet arrived in Gatuna, although the meeting was supposed to start at Two P.M. [end recording]

Further Reportage

EA1212212790 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Rebels from Uganda have launched an invasion once again through the Kaniga border post. Diplomats accredited to Kigali have strongly condemned the renewed upsurge of aggression from Uganda. This afternoon, they met the secretary general at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Jean-Damascene Bizimana. The members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Kigali were invited to see for themselves on the spot that attacks can only be launched from outside.

You already know that the president of the Republic, who is commander in chief of the Rwandan Armed Forces, himself confirmed that the Kagera National Park and the entire Mutara region had been totally cleansed of enemy elements when he visited troops at the front.

Today, the Kagera National Park is still clean. A journalist of the RWANDAN NEWS AGENCY, Gaspard Rwakana, was there to cover the visit of the director of the Rwandan Department of Tourism and National Parks to the region. Our journalist also confirmed that the Kagera National Park is no longer a combat zone. Henceforth there is therefore no question of an act of aggression being launched from within our territory. As the supreme commander of the Rwandan Armed Forces said on 7 December: What pretext will now be used by all those who were saying that the attacks against the communes of Byumba and Ruhengeri were being launched from the Mutara and the Kagera National Park?

Is it a mere coincidence that the meeting due to be held between the prefects of the two Byumba and Ruhengeri Prefectures with their Ugandan counterpart did not take place? Florent Kampayana reports from Byumba:

[Begin Kampayana recording] The talks planned in Gatuna, on Ugandan territory, between the Kabale district administrator, who had issued the invitation, and the prefects of Byumba Prefecture, Sylvestre Balyanga, and Ruhengeri Prefecture, Charles Nzabagerageza, have not materialized because the rebels, despite the promises of the Kabale district administrator, have continued up to today to attack our country from Uganda. As a result, security was not guaranteed for the meeting. We should recall that on [word indistinct] December Prefect Balyanga invited his Kabale neighbor, and the latter promised to heighten the awareness of his population so as to put an end to infiltrations. During the planned meeting, the Kabale district administrator was to have told us what he had done since (?) December and why rebels continued to enjoy the complicity of the Ugandan population in attacking our country. If he issued the invitation, that was surely because he had answers or solutions to the rebel problem. But the sound of guns that we heard at the border meant that a meeting was impossible, although we learned that he would not have hesitated to come to the Gatuna rendezvous.

At their meeting, the diplomats accredited to Kigali expressed the wish that the joint committee of surveillance of the Rwanda-Uganda border should be made more operational and more efficient and that the OAU, which was charged with setting up an intermediary force and which has sent a group of military observers, should hasten its consultations in order to bring about respect for the cease-fire. [end recording]

Kenya

Government 'Keen' To Strengthen U.S. Relations

EA1212100290 Nairobi KNA in English 1000 GMT
11 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Nairobi, 11 Dec—The minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr Wilson Ndolo Ayah, today said that Kenya was keen to strengthen and widen her relations with the United States of America. The minister said this when he held talks at his office in Nairobi with the U.S. ambassador to Kenya, Mr Smith Hempstone. Mr. Ayah pointed out that there was need to maintain steady contacts between officials from Kenyan and U.S. Governments in order to promote a fruitful and beneficial bilateral cooperation. The U.S. ambassador conveyed to the minister congratulations from the U.S. Government to the Kenya Government following resolutions reached during the recent KANU [Kenya African National Union] special delegates' meeting. Mr. Hempstone also presented the minister with a special message from U.S. President George Bush to President Daniel arap Moi. [passage omitted]

Somalia

Assembly Debates 'Precarious Situation'

EA1212213590 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1850 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] A debate on the country's general situation and its shattered economy and the drop in the standard of living started last night at the People's Assembly. The debate was the first in this year's session, and the MP's who took part in last night's debate seriously discussed the country's precarious situation.

They voiced their great concern at the present situation in the country, saying that the Somali people, who are 75 percent nomads, had enjoyed brotherly relations and good neighborliness. But they said recent events had shown that that situation had been reversed. The MP's said that the current situation spells danger for the Somali citizen and his property. They said that indiscriminate murder, pillaging, and violent robbery have become the order of the day. As a result, the MP's resolutely called on the government to take practical steps to restore the confidence the Somalis previously had in each other.

Some of the MP's who made suggestions said that after the 1977 war [with Ethiopia], arms had fallen into the wrong hands, which had led to the formation of opposition groups. Since that time, the country had been plunged into a state of confusion, resulting in insecurity and the individual Somali being robbed of his security.

They also said that discipline in the Armed Forces had been eroded since that time. Order in the rank and file in the Armed Forces has totally collapsed and no one takes orders from his superior officers. It is therefore necessary to rehabilitate the Army, to sift it in order to get patriots who are ready to serve their country and people.

The SOMALI NATIONAL NEWS AGENCY correspondent at the People's Assembly, Mohamed Hassan, said that the MP's had suggested that a state of calm had to be restored among the populace and that their security and standard of living should be looked into. They said representatives from the central government and the party should go to the regions and districts of the country in order to restore people's confidence. Some MP's suggested that the establishment of government in accordance with Islamic principles was the only salvation for Somalia. The session was chaired by the chairman of the People's Assembly, Comrade Hussein Kulmia Afrah.

USC Chairman's Statement on Cairo Meeting

EA1212110390 (Clandestine) Radio of the Somali National Movement in Somali 1600 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Mohamed Aydid, the chairman of the United Somali Congress [USC], has made a statement on the subject of the Cairo meeting. [passage omitted]

It will never be possible for the opposition groups who believe in the armed struggle to sit at a roundtable with the current regime still existing in Mogadishu, which is now collapsing. It would be impossible for any self-respecting person. This is the position of the USC on the meeting which is said to be taking place in Cairo. The USC has decided never to hold any talks with the Mogadishu regime.

This is the stand it shares with the other real Somali opposition organizations, including the Somali National Movement. Any result would be meaningless. The ones to (attend?) the talks cannot represent the Somali nation in name. He went on to say that we clarify that those who broadcast on the BBC about wishing to attend the meeting, always expressing sorrow, are not members of the USC. They are henchmen of the Mogadishu regime and serve it.

Defense Force 'Positive' About Negotiations

MB1312084290 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 0600 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Deputy Defense Minister Wynand Breytenbach says members of the Defense Force believe that action by the security forces does not provide a solution to the violence in the country.

Mr. Breytenbach, who has visited more than 25 Defense Force bases countrywide as part of his annual holiday season tour, said that members of the force are positive about the current negotiating process taking place in the country.

[Begin video recording] [Reporter Pieter Theron] Mr. Breytenbach, who has been touring Defense Force bases for the past two weeks, said that from discussions it has become evident that members of the Defense Force feel that they are participating in the process of change in the country by assuming the role of peacemaker rather than that of fighter. He said the belief was also expressed to him that the security forces can control the current unrest situation by keeping warring factions apart.

He stated that the reduction of the period of national service to one year has contributed to motivating servicemen, although it has led to a slight manpower shortage.

[Breytenbach] Events taking place in the country give them a feeling of participating in an exciting period in our history. This is unusual, but that is the message I have been receiving from the men. They want to be a part of it all. [end recording]

Spokesman Describes Role of Ex-Koevoet Members

MB1212183190 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Telephone interview with Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for the South African Ministry of Law and Order, by reporter Elizabeth Ohene; date not given; recorded; from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Namibian Government is expressing fears about the whereabouts and activities of former members of Koevoet, the notorious anti-insurgency unit that was deployed by the South Africans against SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] during the independence war. Many of them have left Namibia and gone to South Africa.

Namibia claims that the South African authorities are planning to use them to destabilize Namibia, and also that they are being deployed in the black townships.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has admitted that Koevoet members have been absorbed into the South African Security Forces. On the line, Elizabeth Ohene asked Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze if that was so, where they were being deployed:

[Begin recording] [Kotze] Well, yes we can confirm that we have got about 250 of these former Koevoet members in

South Africa at the moment. They are serving in the South African Police in a civilian capacity, and they are unarmed. At this moment they are being deployed in the Eastern Transvaal and in Natal as trackers in stock theft cases. And they have been purposely deployed as far away geographically from Namibia as possible, and they have strict instructions not to venture anywhere near the border of Namibia.

[Ohene] Now, what do you mean by trackers? What do the trackers in the South African Police do?

[Kotze] Well, these particular people are now being used as trackers as I mentioned before in stock theft cases. Stock theft is a particular problem in the rural areas of Natal, and in the mountainous areas of the Drakensberg, etc., etc. What happens is that cattle rustlers chase the cattle and they have to be tracked down of course, and that is exactly what we are using them for.

[Ohene] Now, Koevoet had a very high profile, politically. Now, Natal happens to be a rather volatile area in South Africa also. Isn't it rather insensitive that they are being deployed in Natal?

[Kotze] Well, these people aren't being deployed in terms of a military unit or in terms of a police unit, whatsoever. In fact they have been broken up in between the individual stock theft units. So, in fact there is no single Koevoet force in being at the moment.

[Ohene] But you said they are in the police, and I thought that regularly the South African Police force is an armed force, isn't it?

[Kotze] Yes, but as I pointedly said earlier, they are being deployed as unarmed members in a civilian capacity.

[Ohene] Do you have any other such grouping within the South African Police?

[Kotze] No. I think this situation should be fairly unique at this stage.

[Ohene] So how do they fit in? Suddenly, you have 250 people inside the South African Police, they are the only ones that are not armed, they do not fit into any category. How [words indistinct] is that explained?

[Kotze] Well, I certainly cannot agree that they do not fit into any category. These people have fled with their lives from Ovambo. They happen to have been former policemen who have special skills, and those are the skills that we are employing at the moment. The police force in South Africa is very wide ranging, and we need a very wide range of skills, and unfortunately tracking skills are at a premium at the moment because of the rough terrain in which cattle rustling takes place. [end recording]

ANC's Tambo Returns After 30 Years in Exile

*MB1312122290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1145 GMT 13 Dec 90*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 13 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] President Oliver Tambo touched down in his airplane at Jan Smuts Airport near Johannesburg shortly before 1.30PM [1130 GMT] on Thursday [13 Dec], setting off a frenzy among about 5,000 supporters gathered to greet him.

The 73-year-old leader, still suffering the after-effects of a severe stroke in August last year, returned to South Africa after 30 years in exile.

As word spread of his arrival, the already excited crowd surged forward, singing, "toyi-toying" [protest dancing] and shouting praise to the ANC president.

On hand to meet him on the airport tarmac were his Deputy President Nelson Mandela, the entire National Executive Committee [NEC] of the ANC as well as local and foreign dignitaries. The U.S. ambassador, Mr William Swing, was also on hand to meet Mr Tambo.

The crowd screamed "Viva Tambo, viva baba [father]" as it became apparent he would disembark from the plane. After disembarking from the plane, Mr Tambo walked to the red Mercedes Benz of Mr Mandela and got inside. A smiling Mr Tambo said he felt "fine, fine, fine" when he was asked about his health by SAPA.

Mr Tambo then got out of the vehicle, and was being helped by Mr Mandela, being introduced to some of the dignitaries on the tarmac. Mr Tambo was walking slowly, with a slight limp. He warmly embraced SACP [South African Communist Party] official Joe Slovo as the dignitaries lined up along the side of the plane. He exchanged words with the members of the NEC and other dignitaries. It was clear he was elated to be home, continuously smiling. Mr Tambo was dressed in a mainly grey suit with a blue and white pin-stripe shirt. He wore a floral tie.

A member of the ANC Youth League hung a scarf in the colours of the ANC around his neck as he met representatives of the youth. Mr Tambo later stood, clutching a walking stick in his right hand, and received dignitaries on the side of the plane, near Mr Mandela's car.

About 300 airport workers encircled the plane, ululating and excited at the prospect of him being back inside the country. Meanwhile, a member of the ANC Youth League members [as received] also hung a scarf around Mr Mandela's neck. The atmosphere was frenzied with officials and other dignitaries savouring Mr Tambo's return.

The ANC president also expressed surprise when he saw veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Mrs Helen Suzman. Mr Tambo is due to address the more than 5,000 ANC

supporters who have been chanting and singing in front of the terminal, ANC officials said.

Tambo Not To Quit

*MB1212200690 Dakar PANA in English
1805 GMT 12 Dec 90*

[Text] Lusaka, 12 Dec. (ZANA/PANA)—The African National Congress (ANC) has dismissed speculation that its president, Oliver Tambo, will relinquish post because of his present poor health.

Speaking in an interview with the party-owned TIMES OF ZAMBIA Tuesday, ANC spokesman Tom Sabina, said it was not true that Tambo would quit the presidency.

Tambo arrived in the Zambian capital Friday [7 Dec] from London where he was recuperating from a stroke he suffered in Lusaka August 1989. He was admitted in a Stockholm clinic, Sweden after the stroke.

Speaking on arrived in Lusaka Tambo said his health has improved tremendously.

However, media speculation has heightened especially in Europe where it has been reported that Tambo, 73, was going to South Africa to surrender the ANC helm to his deputy, Nelson Mandela. Tambo leaves for South Africa Thursday morning.

ANC To Build 'Posh House'

*MB1212121790 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
12 Dec 90 p 2*

[Report by Sy Makaringe: "ANC To Build Posh House for Tambo"]

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] has bought a huge site to build a posh house for its president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, who returns temporarily to the country tomorrow.

The plot, in Tambo's home town of Wattville, Benoni, was originally zoned for a park.

Estimated to be about 3,000 square metres, the site was allocated to the ANC by the Wattville Council after it was rezoned in July, sources told SOWETAN yesterday.

This ends months of speculation on whether Tambo and his family would return to their modest four-room Wattville home or buy a house in one of the plush townships on the Reef.

The ANC president will arrive to a hero's welcome at Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow to attend the organisation's consultative conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg this weekend.

He is expected to spend a few weeks in South Africa before returning to England.

The house, rumoured to be probably bigger than Mr. Nelson Mandela's Orlando West mansion, is expected to be completed in June next year when Tambo returns to settle permanently in the country.

Sources said yesterday that Tambo's wife, Adelaide, appeared satisfied when she inspected the site during her brief visit to the country earlier this year.

The site, at Dube Street, has already been fenced off in preparation for building to commence.

The ANC could not give details of the new home.

ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said Tambo would return to Britain in a few weeks, time and "any accommodation that will be arranged for him will be a temporary one."

"But I assume he has always expressed the wish that he would like to go back to his home town of Wattville when he returns to settle permanently in the country," Marcus said.

Navy Chief Recommissions Refitted Submarine

*MB1312102090 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 0600 GMT 13 Dec 90*

[Text] The chief of the Navy, Vice Admiral Woody Woodburne, says the recommissioning of the submarine Johanna van der Merwe is a prime example of the Navy's ability to help itself despite the arms embargo. Charl Pauw reports from Simonstown that the submarine is back in the water after two years:

[Begin video recording] [Reporter Charl Pauw] Fifty crewmen lined up at seaside at Simonstown to recommission their boat, which is almost brand new. She was delivered from France 20 years ago, but now there is hardly a piece of the original equipment left on board.

All the work was done by a specialized refit crew of 160 men at the Simonstown dockyard. All local skills were used, and there was no reference to the builders in France. It was much more than a refit; the boat has been modernized. A job like this normally costs about 40 million rands.

[Woodburne] Submarines are the prime maritime deterrent of the Republic of South Africa. They are, however, only as good as the men that serve in them, and you are those men.

[Pauw] In keeping with naval tradition, the most junior crewman, 18-year-old Seaman Henry Gillam, goes aboard first. Last to be piped down the hatch is the captain. The submarine Johanna van der Merwe is now ready for another four years of operational duty. The crew are on short-notice call but will probably be spared a Christmas as sea. In the new year they could spend five months at sea and a quarter of the entire year under water. [end recording]

Chief Details Air Force Rationalization Plans

*MB1212122990 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
12 Dec 90 p 16*

[Report by SOWETAN correspondent: "SAAF Trims Weight, Ready for New Role"]

[Text] South Africa's air force has trimmed down its fighting weight and is now ready for its new "peacetime" role.

In an interview the chief of the air force, Lieutenant-General Jan van Loggerenberg, said further personnel cuts were highly unlikely and he detailed plans for the SAAF [South African Air Force] over the next two decades.

The SAAF will become largely a "Dakota and chopper" force with a limited but continuously updated strike arm.

Jet fighters will be concentrated at two bases in the Far Northern Transvaal and Eastern Transvaal.

Pretoria residents will probably be happy to hear noise levels in city's skies will drop considerably with the loss of Canberra and Buccaneer bombers and the relocation of Mirage fighters elsewhere.

Van Loggerenberg expressed satisfaction with the SAAF's progress on the road to rationalisation: "We have a clear vision of the SAAF's role for the next four to five years, but I'll be introducing a number of new measures in the next 18 months."

The "new" air force will be smaller and more streamlined, Van Loggerenberg said: fewer squadrons, fewer aircraft and fewer bases.

"We will have fewer aircraft on our inventory—however, with increased operational readiness we'll probably be able to keep more of them in the air than before," said Van Loggerenberg.

Fewer aircraft will not, however, mean fewer pilots: "We won't train fewer pilots than in the past, we're undermanned."

The first batch of pilots produced by a new, shorter training programme received their wings last week.

"The new programme will allow us to produce pilots faster, ease the burden on flying instructors and will bring about significant savings," Van Loggerenberg said at the wings parade last week.

The SAAF would not be able to replace aircraft like the Canberra and Buccaneer bombers: "We have lost their range and other unique features but with the considerably lower air threat against the country this will not be a problem."

Because of the SAAF's limited budget and a de-escalated air threat, projects like the Rooivalk attack helicopter and the development of a new fighter have been shelved.

"It must be remembered that the Rooivalk was designed a decade ago to meet operational needs. However, we are not in a war anymore."

Van Loggerenberg said continuous upgrading of Cheetah and Impala aircraft and development of more sophisticated weapons systems would compensate for a lack of new fighter types.

"We'll be looking at a new power plant for the Cheetah as well as certain aerodynamic improvements on the airframe."

At the wings parade Van Loggerenberg announced the replacement of the SAAF's ageing fleet of piston-powered Havard trainers.

"Long before the end of this century we will have replaced all our piston-powered aircraft with turbo-prop types."

The SAAF's large fleet of DC-4 aircraft and DC-3 Dakotas will undergo the same transformation.

"Unfortunately we will not be able to replace the anti-submarine capability provided by the Shackletons. We have lost that," he said.

It is also known that the SAAF will be upgrading its Puma helicopters with a new, more powerful engine.

"The loss of certain aircraft types, including the Mirage 111's being converted to Cheetahs, will mean less diversity and will solve a logistical headache. Maintenance will be simpler."

Van Loggerenberg said it would be incorrect to presume the SAAF would take on a totally defensive role.

"An air force is versatile. We can play the role of defender or we can attack."

"We will not, however, spend millions to establish a defensive ring of anti-aircraft weapons and early warning systems. We simply do not have the budget for it."

"There is no serious air threat from our northern neighbours."

Air space control has been buttoned up with the opening of a new underground air control centre at Hoedspruit that will link radar installations in the Far North and Eastern Transvaal and direct fighters based at Hoedspruit and Louis Trichardt.

"With 4,000 aircraft criss-crossing the Lowveld skies every day it means the military can also assist with civilian air traffic control."

Future air combat exercises would have to be increasingly more realistic to compensate for the loss of operation experience, he said.

13 Dec Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB1312105390

[Editorial report]

THE STAR

ANC Must Not Upset Negotiations Progress—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 13 December in

a page 24 editorial says the African National Congress (ANC) conference will express "frustration" at the fact that the "majority still have no votes to help them redress the disadvantage they feel." South Africans "should understand what this implies about the need for quicker change. Some demands may be unreasonable; the pressure for equalisation is not." THE STAR notes there are two levels of ANC language to interpret. The "rhetoric designed to bolster support and the serious proposals for solving problems. Into the first category of awareness-raising (or rabble-rousing, depending on viewpoint) falls the commitment to mass mobilisation against the remnants of apartheid; the reserve position of being able to revert to the armed struggle; and the demands for the restitution of freedom for ANC members (including the release of prisoners and repatriation of exiles). Secondly, there are the serious demands for dealing practically with reshaping the political structure. These include the preference for an interim government and the establishment of a constituent assembly to negotiate a new constitution." But the ANC should be "sensible enough" to ensure its recruiting propaganda "will not be pushed to such excesses that it upsets progress on negotiations. It is as important for the ANC as for the Government that the negotiation process bears fruit within four years."

BUSINESS DAY

Call for Black Mass Education Welcome—The National Education Coordinating Committee's (NECC) call for 1991 to be a year of mass education, and that it will do all it can to "get black schooling back to normal" is "welcome news," according to Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 13 December in a page 4 editorial. The NECC's "conciliatory tone" is encouraging. "While it rejects government's restricted models for opening white schools and stresses its long-held goal of a single, non-racial education system, it will 'remain silent' on whether black children should go to open schools and accepts the right of parents to decide."

SOWETAN

Leaders Reinforce Divisions in Townships—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 13 December in a page 6 editorial refers to the two groups of leaders, Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi and the ANC's Mandela respectively, that visited the East Rand to address the fighting Zulu and Xhosa factions, saying the fact that there were two different parties, "defeated the object of the exercise." "Instead of the two groups of leaders addressing the warring factions in one voice, they did it separately, reinforcing the divisions already tearing these communities apart."

Angola**MPLA Central Committee Elects Politburo Members**

*MB1312080090 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0700 GMT 13 Dec 90*

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party chairman, the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee held its first ordinary session at the 10 December Palace in Luanda on 12 December 1990.

During the session the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee discussed proposals concerning the composition of the MPLA-Labor Party Political Bureau, the MPLA-Labor Party's Discipline and Auditing Commission, and the Commission for Redrafting the Party's Programs and Statutes. The MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee arrived at the following decisions:

1. To fix the number of MPLA-Labor Party Political Bureau members at 21, including 17 full members and four alternate members;
2. The MPLA-Labor Party's Discipline and Auditing Commission will include three members;
3. The MPLA-Labor Party elected, from among its members, the following to be full members of the Political Bureau: Jose Eduardo dos Santos; Afonso Domingos van Dunem Mbinda; Alberto Correia Neto; Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu; Bornito de Sousa Baltazar Diogo; Domingos Manuel Njinga; Fernando Jose Franca van Dunem; Francisco Magalhaes Paiva Nvunda; Jacinto Venancio Chipopa; Joao Manuel Goncalves Lourenco; Juliao Mateus Paulo Dino Matross; Kundi Paihama; Lopo Fortunato Ferreira do Nascimento; Marcolino Jose Carlos Moco; Maria Mambo Cafe; Maria Ruth Neto; and Roberto Antonio Vitor Francisco de Almeida. The four alternate members are: Manuel Pedro Pacavira; Norberto Fernandes dos Santos; Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy; and Pedro Mutinde.
4. The MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee elected the following comrades as members of the MPLA-Labor Party's Discipline and Auditing Commission: Domingos Manuel Njinga, coordinator; Francisca Jose Lando Liombo; and Celestino Jolomba.
5. The MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee also created the Commission for Redrafting the Party's Programs and Statutes, which is to be presented to the upcoming special MPLA-Labor Party congress. This commission includes the following members: Lopo Fortunato Ferreira do Nascimento, coordinator; Marcolino Jose Carlos Moco; Antonio Daniel Ventura de Azevedo; Joao Manuel Goncalves Lourenco; Bornito de Sousa Baltazar Diogo; and Zeferino Estevao Juliana.
6. Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos called on the newly elected members of the MPLA-Labor Party

Political Bureau, MPLA-Labor Party Discipline and Auditing Commission, and the Commission for Redrafting the Party's Programs and Statutes, as well as on all members of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee, to become deeply committed to carrying out the difficult tasks facing them during their terms of office.

[Dated] Luanda, 12 December 1990, the year of the MPLA-Labor Party Third Congress, and for the expansion of democracy

[Signed] The MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee

Foreign Minister Meets With Baker, Shevardnadze

*MB1312081690 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0700 GMT 13 Dec 90*

[Text] The Angolan peace process' latest developments were analyzed yesterday during a meeting between Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Before that the Angolan foreign minister had met with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The Angolan side described the outcome of this meeting as very satisfactory.

In turn, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] chief Jonas Savimbi within the framework of contacts being developed by the USSR and the United States for the successful completion of the next round of peace talks scheduled for January 1991.

In other discussions on the Angolan peace process, James Baker and Eduard Shevardnadze emphasized the need for the successful outcome of the sixth round of peace talks in Lisbon. They agreed that future contacts on the Angolan peace process should take place in Washington.

Portugal's Durao Barroso Departs Luanda 12 Dec

*MB1212203890 Luanda ANGOP in French
1956 GMT 12 Dec 90*

[Text] Luanda, 12 Dec. (ANGOP)—Mr. Durao Barroso, Portugal's secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation, left Luanda on Wednesday at the end of a 24-hour visit to Angola. He carried a verbal message from Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

During an audience with the Angolan president, Mr. Durao Barroso briefed him on the new elements which will be discussed during the next round of talks between the Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], scheduled for January 1991 and aimed at signing a cease-fire accord.

Interviewed by newsmen after the audience, the Portuguese secretary of state who is also mediator of the negotiating process between the Angolan Government

and UNITA, expressed the hope that the cease-fire document which "should be approved at the appropriate time, could come into effect during the first quarter of 1991."

He described as positive the question of recognizing UNITA, hoping that "this problem is about to be overcome."

Asked about the so-called privileged status demanded by UNITA, the Portuguese secretary of state said that the fact that the cease-fire involves only the two sides, "doesn't mean that multipartyism in Angola is restricted only to two parties."

The official, moreover expressed optimism, hoping that conditions will be created for progress at the next decisive round of talks in order to end the war that has been going on in Angola for about 15 years.

It will be recalled that five rounds of talks were held between the government and UNITA from April to November, under the auspices of the Portuguese authorities without positive results, due to UNITA's intransigence in linking the signing of a cease-fire to its "de jure" recognition.

Savimbi Interviewed on Talks in Washington

MB1312123090 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1120 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Interview with UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi in Washington by SABC reporter Steve Lange in Johannesburg, introduced by Warwick Greenaway on the "Africa South" program]

[Text] [Greenaway] Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the president of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], has met with Soviet Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, with the aim of seeking a solution to the Angolan civil war. Steve Lange has this report.

[Begin recording] [Lange] Yesterday's meeting between Dr. Savimbi and Mr. Shevardnadze was only one of a series due to take place in Washington involving all the major players in the Angolan situation. Today's meeting will include the American secretary of state, Mr. James Baker; Angolan minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pedro de Castro van Dunem; and a delegation representing the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In a telephone conversation shortly after his meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze, Dr. Savimbi told me that he was satisfied with the outcome. During the meeting, they discussed the main obstacles that were holding up the peace process in Angola. I asked Dr. Savimbi if he could specify these obstacles.

[Savimbi] The cease-fire; the quick progress towards the freedom of the parties to launch their political activities; and an early election in Angola. We feel those three

points—cease-fire, freedom of the parties, and elections—are the problems which are delaying the progress in the negotiations. Our views that we have expressed, are that we are ready to sign a cease-fire at any time.

[Lange] While both the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA appear to agree on the need for a cease-fire and eventually multiparty elections, there is a substantial difference in the timetables proposed by each party. UNITA believes that a shorter timetable will be more manageable.

[Savimbi] A long period from the cease-fire to elections can jeopardize the cease-fire itself. Second, as we agree that the cease-fire should be monitored by an international force, this will be very expensive if it takes years, and we put that point across to the foreign minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Shevardnadze, and we found that he was sympathetic to our view, because also he said that he would like to see a quick solution to the conflict of Angola.

[Lange] Dr. Savimbi also explained that the meeting in Washington did not mean that Portugal was no longer the official mediator in the peace talks. He explained that five rounds of negotiations in Lisbon have so far been fruitless, therefore it was felt that the added pressure brought to bear by the super powers would supply the added momentum needed to set the talks in motion once again.

The two ex-Portuguese colonies in Africa—Angola and Mozambique—have both been beset by civil wars ever since they gained their independence. It is therefore inevitable that observers draw parallels between these two countries. However, at this stage it appears that Mozambique is far closer to solving its political problems than Angola.

[Savimbi] Yes, we have congratulated President Chissano for accepting (?parties) and elections. However, we consider the situation in Mozambique is quite different from that one in Angola. Everybody knows that. But on that point of elections, I feel that we would like also to see President dos Santos to unite his Central Committee and his government, in order to speed up things, because they have had several meetings with the Central Committee, where they took important decisions.

And they had their [word indistinct] congress, and [word indistinct]. Then, I don't understand why do you say that you will need three more months from now up to March, in order to legalize (?parties), and say you will need up to 1992 in order to open up the multiparty system, and again to say you will need three years more to have elections.

I think what we need in Angola to avoid the situation to deteriorate is to move quickly. President Chissano has done so. We hope that parties in Mozambique will respond accordingly, and we want also to put enough pressure, diplomatically, in Angola, so that President Dos Santos moves also quickly in this situation.

[Lange] Finally, I asked Dr. Savimbi whether he thought that the present round of talks in Washington would produce any concrete results.

[Savimbi] Absolutely, absolutely. For the fact that we have been working on this since October, when I visited Washington last, and the fact that we came here, and we came, and it was possible for the (?ministers) of the MPLA to arrive this morning. They have arrived just this morning—all—from Luanda, to take part in these talks. They have arrived.

I think there is a driving force behind these contacts, which is why I think the Portuguese are here, UNITAs are here, the MPLA are here, the Soviets are here, the Americans are here. I feel that meeting of tomorrow will produce a base for a substantive discussion in Portugal next month.

[Lange] That was Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the president of UNITA, speaking shortly after his meeting with Soviet Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze. [end recording]

Mozambique

Frelimo Central Committee Session Closes 12 Dec

MB1212192890 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The fourth Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee session ended in Maputo this afternoon. The session discussed a number of issues, particularly the measures proposed by the Political Bureau aimed at strengthening the party at national and international levels. The measures provide for:

[Begin unidentified spokeswoman recording] The redefinition of party functions under the terms of the constitution; the adaptation of the party's structures and apparatus to the new phase; ways of broadening the party ranks and the attribution of concrete tasks to Central Committee members and militants; the strengthening of party relations at international level; and broadening of party relations with political forces that struggle for peace and progress. Accordingly, the Central Committee decided to convene within a short period a meeting of party cadres and a special congress. [end recording]

The session also assessed the draft economic and social program for 1991, based on the economic policy that the government intends to implement in order to achieve the following goals:

[Begin unidentified spokeswoman recording] Inflation control; regular supply of basic commodities; creation of conditions for a stable growth of production; protection of the most vulnerable layers of the population; continuation of the austerity policy; reduction of the country's dependence of foreign aid; reorganization of public investment; strict application of funds and strengthening

of the way projects are implemented; strengthening of the state apparatus' management and executive organs; and continuation of the policy aimed at streamlining public enterprises. [end recording]

On the chapter dealing with the 1991 state general budget, the fourth session of the Central Committee noted that the continuing war does not permit substantial increases in the budgets of social sectors, namely education and health. The draft budget calls for ceilings on sectorial expenditure and on hiring of public servants, and the introduction of a single salary scale for the public service.

The draft budget also calls for a more strict collection of taxes, and the adoption of measures ensuring the neutrality of the fiscal system as well as the introduction of greater discipline in the accountability of revenue deriving from foreign aid.

The session also discussed the draft law on political parties. The final communique says the law embodies the following fundamental principles:

[Begin unidentified spokeswoman recording] The parties ought to have a national entity and representativity, and safeguard national unity, as well as contribute to its consolidation. The parties should not discriminate on the basis of origin, race, ethnic group, religion, and other factors. The parties should adhere strictly to and abide by the constitution and other laws.

The Central Committee concluded that the draft law on parties will contribute to the establishment of peace and normalization of life, and strengthening and improvement of democracy, as well as the establishment of political pluralism in line with Mozambique's realities and possibilities.

The Central Committee was informed about the current phase of the peace talks. Accordingly, the Central Committee was informed about efforts that have been made by government which evolved toward the start of negotiations. The Central Committee heard a detailed account about the contents, meaning, and scope of the first accord signed in Rome.

The Central Committee urged the government to continue with efforts likely to result in the signing of far-reaching accords, and the establishment of peace and calm in the country.

The Central Committee saluted the chairman of the Frelimo Party and president of the republic, as well as government for the persistent and resolute manner in which they have been continuing with their efforts to establish peace.

The Central Committee saluted the government delegation to the Rome talks in view of its patience and persistence in searching for solutions leading to a rapid establishment of peace. [end recording]

The final communique adds that the fourth Frelimo Party Central Committee session approved the policy followed by the commission tasked with the drafting of the electoral law. The session urged the commission to continue its work.

Namibia

Government Declines Offer of Koevoet Briefing

*MB1212153590 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1445 GMT 12 Dec 90*

[Text] Windhoek Dec 12 SAPA—The Namibian Government saw no purpose in accepting South African Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's invitation to investigate the activities of former Koevoet paramilitary police in South Africa, information permanent secretary Bob Kandetua said on Wednesday.

"We don't think it is our business to go and investigate the activities of people in a country where they are not supposed to be in the first place," he told a media briefing in Windhoek.

"What is there to investigate? What did they go there to do?"

He added the government had heard of the invitation through the media. Mr Kandetua said Mr Vlok's remark that the former Namibian para-military police were being used as trackers "revives a lot of memories." The Koevoet unit played a significant part in the bush war against SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] combatants during the last 10 or so years of the 23-year conflict. "We don't think there is a role for the Namibian Government to play in South Africa," Mr Kandetua said. "The government's attitude is that by no means do we believe that the whole move of these ex-fighters to South Africa is without dishonourable motives," he added. "We have reason to believe there is indeed ill-intent."

Mr Kandetua said he could not confirm that President Sam Nujoma had been officially informed by South

Africa about the move of the former fighters but "we knew what was about to happen even before Namibia was declared independent (in March this year)."

Mr Kandetua said it would be "self deceit" not to admit to a measure of tension between the two governments on the issue.

"I don't think this measure of tension started with the president's statements (about Koevoet) over the weekend," he said, adding it started when it became clear Namibians were crossing into South Africa and that somebody was coordinating the move.

"That does not necessarily imply that the South African Government through the president's office or foreign affairs or the ministry of defence...is coordinating that, but the fact of the matter is that these people are crossing into South Africa and these people are military professionals," Mr Kandetua said.

President Nujoma spoke out strongly at the weekend against any possible subversive elements out to threaten the peace and stability in the country.

According to Windhoek news reports, anything up to 2000 former members of the SWA [South-West African] Territory Force and Koevoet have travelled to South Africa in recent months.

Zimbabwe

More Troops Deployed Along Mozambican Border

*MB1212155490 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 12 Dec 90*

[Text] President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe says his country has deployed additional security forces along its border with Mozambique. Mr. Mugabe says the move follows the killing by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] of 81 Zimbabweans, and the wounding of 79 others since January this year. He said Renamo had also abducted a further 79 people during the same period. Mr. Mugabe said Renamo had been responsible for the disruption of trade routes with Mozambique during the course of the year.

Ivory Coast

FPI Official Agodio Proposes Economic Plan

AB1212163090 Abidjan NOUVEL HORIZON
in French 3 Dec 90 pp 14-15

[First in a series of articles by Paul Agodio, Ivorian Popular Front national secretary for economy and finance]

[Text] The economic recovery plan of the Ivorian Popular Front [FPI] is included in the preface to its government program, which is now being published and will be submitted to you in the next few weeks. This article is intended to respond to the impatience, which we understand, of Ivorians who want to know about our party's policies. It is a short-term plan whose objective is to rearm Ivory Coast in the expectation of more sweeping reforms. Therefore, it is different from the short- and long-term economic program, which will be published soon. The aim of the latter is to set up a type of social democratic society based on the model of the former FRG or the Scandinavian Countries. So who can speak of collectivism?

No criticism of past or present recovery plans will really be made in this article. Several statements were made on these plans, and we will come back to that on other occasions. Now, perhaps we and the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast, PDCI, agree—for once—on the need to achieve an economic recovery program in the country, but our approaches are completely different.

For the minority party in power, only the poorest must bear the brunt of the effort. That has been so since 1980 with:

- The dissolution of state companies mismanaged by dignitaries of the regime or their proteges who have immediately been appointed to a sinecure.
- The massive laying off of workers at companies which have been spared.
- Raising the salaries of state company workers to the same level as those of employees in the central administration.
- Increasing indirect taxes.

For some time now, a new approach, which will also lead to massive layoffs, has been adopted. It consists in selling off state property to foreigners.

The aim of all these measures has been to increase government resources, either by saving them or generating a fresh inflow of money, which has been re-used, or will be, without any control as is the case in a single-party system or a pseudo-multiparty system. This has led to a reduction in purchasing power and the extension of poverty without reviving the economy. And obviously, the crisis has persisted.

Our approach is totally different and so is our philosophy: "Power checks power." For, anyone who has power tends to abuse it. This is not characteristic of Africans or blacks. Erich Honecker and Ceausescu are neither Africans nor blacks. Thus, when we come to power, there should be a free opposition and institutions

to exert effective and uncomplacent control in the interests of the country. Full democracy can be the framework for the implementation of our plan.

As for the collection of funds, whose use will be controlled, the state must first assess its financial situation, then recover all money owed to it. If in spite of all this there is a need for more money, the cost will then be shared by taxpayers, each one contributing according to his ability.

In a nutshell, besides archaic political structures, the Ivorian economy is short of liquidity. The immediate and main objective of the FPI's program is to correct this situation. The drying up of cash in the banks is one of the most visible parts of the iceberg that constitutes the current crisis. This cash shortage can even be described as tragic since nobody is spared: the employed and unemployed are in the same boat. The former has an income which he can not enjoy and the latter none. When we examine their situation, in the face of a financial problem, they are both handicapped. Besides, money can restore trust in the business community and help support the recovery measures. We now lay out our five-point proposal:

1. Repatriation of local money saved abroad.
2. Increase government revenues through taxes and customs tariffs.
3. Return property to the state that has been taken fraudulently or illegally.
4. Call for international financial aid.
5. Inject all these financial resources into the economy.

1. Repatriation of Ivorian Savings Deposited Abroad

This really exists. It is not a figment of the imagination. President Houphouet-Boigny, who is a symbol in this country, admits its principle in these terms: "I have billions [of CFA francs] abroad... Others may want to hide it, but I am telling you that I have properties in Switzerland... I stopped cultivating coffee. In the past, we received very little, perhaps 100 million francs, but this 100 million is worth billions now. And I deposited all this money, which is mine, in my bank account in Switzerland. And this has yielded significant interest."

Gilles Durule ("Structural Adjustment—Senegal, Ivory Coast, Madagascar"—Karthala Edition) is more precise. According to him: "Already high in the 1960's (4 percent of GNP), the transfer of funds increased in the 1970's and even more starting in 1976 to reach 7 percent of GNP in 1980, that is, 150 billion CFA francs. In 1963, the transfer amounted to 3 percent of GNP and was done by immigrant Europeans. Considering the increase in population and of GNP, this percentage should have stayed steady or even slightly decreased. [no end quotation mark as published] Following the author's explanation, it was concluded that the difference is attributable to Lebanese and Ivorians with high income. At present, after the peak in 1980, the transfers stabilized at around some 100 billion CFA francs.

Ivory Coast's External Balance of Payment: Ivorians would be encouraged by harping on their nationalism to bring back their savings. They would be assured on the spot, within the context of our democratic regime, of all the guarantees of security inherent to persons and property that they seek elsewhere—among other things: the compulsory tax administration reserves as well as those of chartered accountants and auditors would be intensified. Banking secrets' protection would not be spared, taking into account, of course, of monism [monisme], with respect for international law (the main aim of this is to prevent laundering of drug money). For the diehards, legal and fiscal means could be found to convince them. Also, without violating existing West African Monetary Union [UMOA] regulations guaranteeing the free movement of capital within the franc zone, measures to slow down "wild" money transfers would be adopted, as it is true that the interest rates of the Central Bank of West African States [BCEAO] is not unfavorable to our local financial market, compared with others.

The success of this operation would have at least three positive effects:

—On the instant balance of current payments whose deficit at the end of 1980 was put at 322 billion CFA francs. For the end of 1990, World Bank estimates—which are \$579 million [source: "World Debt Tables 1989-1990" and the Ministry of Economy and Finance], that is, CFA 174 billion—would be largely exceeded, even doubled. By this operation and with capital flows reverted, external earnings, which have slightly imporved thanks to the transfer operation between the International Bank for West Africa [BIAO] Paris and the BIAO Ivory Coast, could be completely reconstituted. Operations accounts in the books of the French Treasury Council could also benefit from this. Thus, the calculations that crop up from time to time on the complexity of the devaluation of the CFA franc will come to an end for a long time.

Replenishing of Liquidity at Banks in Difficulty at This Moment: People talk less about this subject because the peak commercial transaction periods in the year are over. Nevertheless, the banking sector still lacks liquidity. Their indispensable restructuring which must without doubt end up in a recapitalization, would be made easier by a free flow of liquidity. Furthermore, an abundant flow of money would enable credit distribution to pick up, without the effective intervention of the BCEAO in resolving operational problems, since the banks themselves can feed the monetary market. The issuing institute would also take advantage of it, without impeding economic activities, to suspend for some time resort to rediscount. That would have a favorable effect on currency behavior. Savers, for their part, would have renewed trust in financial institutions and would cease hoarding money, something that is assuming alarming proportions. The vacuum experienced by the traditional

financial institutions is hastening their own fall, since each of them prefers to keep liquidity at an easily accessible place and available.

Renewed Trust of Foreign Investors in the Country: Indeed, the return of local investments would prove that they are secure at their new destinations. If nationals have trust in their own country, foreign nationals will follow them. On the other hand, the fact that Ivorians expatriate their savings makes non-Ivorians less willing to invest here. This is a well known fact: "One cannot be more royal than the king." This partly explains the reason for the doling out of funds by international institutions and the segmentation of the economic recovery program. On the one hand, a stabilization program and, on the other, a recovery program. And yet the combination of the two could have been more effective and less painful.

2. Keeping the State Coffers Afloat With Tax Revenue and Customs Duties

Regardless of how good the intentions of successive PDCI governments may be, they will never be able to recover the taxes. The greatest debtors are the big shots of this party. At any rate, nonpayment of tax has become something normal for them. Their stunning arrogance toward creditors has produced a right to avoid taxes.

The insolvent portfolios of the agonizing banks and, more certainly, of the extinct ones bear testimony to the fact... Being free and with clean hands, we of the FPI will recover the taxes to the last cent, whatever that may cost us. For that is the basis on which international donors judge our seriousness and our willingness to inject sanity into public finances before lending us the support that is so much needed today.

Reducing the tax burden while increasing the efficiency of tax collection—this sums up our key principle. Its concrete implementation will lead to a downward revision of about 30 percent in all tax rates and a reduction by a similar proportion in outstanding payments over a six-month period while we wait for a complete reform that will institute a tax system geared more toward boosting investment.

Obviously, to avoid being unfair to the regular taxpayers, those persons with outstanding tax obligations will not be entitled to rebates on the fixed rates. An overall outstanding tax statement will be published to enable the general public to monitor the tax recovery process. For it is easy to clamor out of sheer political one-upsmanship, even though one knows that one cannot perform. Furthermore, each debtor's personal statement will be discreetly forwarded to him, together with a new payment schedule that will have to be strictly followed. After the six-month period, persons whose debt amortization effort, appraised in concrete terms, is found to be insignificant would lose this.

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